



## N. Ireland office rapped over jobs

"The latest depressing Northern unemployment figures (50,000) are further evidence of the collapse of private enterprise undertakings in the face of monopoly takeovers and the downward trend cannot be arrested until the State steps in to take control of all investment and production", stated Belfast Republican Clubs Executive chairman Brian Brennan at a conference of Republican Club's councillors and election workers in Newry, Sunday, April 25.

Mr. Brennan further attacked the half baked suggestions coming from some political quarters that self-help and co-operative industries could seriously tackle the problem as nothing more than a desperate alternative to local industries to save their workers and to in no way contribute to the prosperity of the community.

As private industry has collapsed, the State must take over the responsibility of creating employment. The State will have to dramatically intervene to stop the slide into the abyss.

"There is no reason," he con-

tinued, "why the industrial and Commercial Departments of the Government of Northern Ireland and South Ulster do not now work with the Free State Government and agree to the joint development of all our resources in the interests of the people.

The development of Ireland's vast mineral wealth and oil resources offers vital opportunities to create an industrial revolution which would tackle, at source, the unemployment problem.

"Our oil and mineral potential can create billion pound industries if we develop a manufacturing sector concentrated on metal and petroleum products.

"The run-down in Northern engineering industries could be offset by the establishment of publicly

owned industries associated with light engineering, metal products and petro-chemicals based on the planned zinc smelter in the South, he said.

"Instead the Northern Ireland Office have failed to win the contracts for the steel oil platform jackets and rigs for the Kinsale Field (Cork) while a question mark hangs over the future of Harland and Wolff.

"With more than a remote prospect of a natural gas field on the North Antrim coast the development and exploitation of our natural resources in the fight against unemployment, is clearly a 32 County issue.

"Republicans believe that the recognition of the Economic Dimension in Ireland is the key to solving the economic crisis", he said.

## Sinn Fein Councillor at European conference

COUNCILLOR DOMHNAIGH MAC RAGHNAILL, who is to go to power, is attending the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe in Strasbourg as the first member of Sinn Fein to represent the country at an international conference since 1922.

He hopes to get an opportunity to tell the conference of the disillusionment with Europe now felt by many people in this country who were convinced by pro-Europe campaigners that integration would guarantee industrial and regional development.

Before leaving for Strasbourg Councillor Mac Raghnaill told the UNITED IRISHMAN that while he anticipated serious procedural obstacles he would endeavour to have a resolution passed at the Conference which would call on the EEC to live up to the promises of Regional Development made before we joined the EEC.

"It is a declared objective of the European Community that regional development should be based on the development of local natural

resources and this is a sensible resource and protective measure. But the EEC has not been able to benefit from this and the North West Coast, is the greatest living proof that no action has been taken to achieve this objective. If the EEC was serious about regional development steps would have been taken by now to conserve and develop the fishing resources off the West Coast", said Cllr. Mac Raghnaill.

This has not been done and, in fact, this resource is being depleted through uncontrolled exploitation "not by the people of the region but by fishing fleets from countries whose economies are very healthy and this process of plunder will increase as the limited protective measures in existence have to be removed to comply with EEC regulations."

"Is it any wonder that the people in this region are looking upon the idea of a United Europe as one cynically utilised not to help them but to exploit them", he asked.

Employees to defend State sector

The Committee for the Development and Expansion of the Public Sector is as its Chairman John McAdam said in Dublin on Wednesday, April 14, entirely explanatory. "We are all employees in the Civil Service, State Councils and local authorities who resent the slanderous remarks made by Finance Minister Richie Ryan last October, when he stated that every single worker in the Public Sector is being carried by five private sector workers", he said.

The press conference was called not only to launch this new committee but to pamphlet which will stimulate a considerable soul stirring discussion over the next few months. The pamphlet entitled "Public Servants for the Public Sector" is on sale at 30p and is available from the Secretary, CDEPS, 1, Florentine Street, Dublin, 8. Tel. 758108. It is understood that only a limited number of copies have been printed.



• Richie Ryan's remarks resented.

The unnamed authors of this pamphlet in a thorough analysis of the economy point out that the Private Sector is supported by the Public sector to the tune of £200 million per year. A statement which is bound to be queried by Business and Finance.

They state also that State companies are far from being unproductive and claim that the ESB and Bord na Mona contributed over £25 million to the Public Sector last year. Again a claim which is sure to raise eyebrows in Business and Finance.

The pamphlet quoting Dr. Brendan Walsh states that the frightening total of 342,000 new jobs will be needed by 1978 if we are to have full employment by that year. Where should investment be? In the Public Sector is the answer, for a variety of reasons. One of the most contentious is that the public service has to be financed, which demands a virtual revolution in banking and fiscal policy.

No matter, this booklet is a must for every trade unionist and public servant. The CDEPS is to be congratulated.

## B.A. attack cemetery

The Republican Easter Commemoration, Belfast was marred by attacks on the marchers both by stone throwing hooligans and the British Army.

Pictured on the left is the baton charge which clashed not only with a handful of missile throwers but with the rear of the march. Naturally great play was made by the media of arrests.

Pages 8 and 9 report some of the thirty commemorations held in Ireland, Britain and the USA.



64 Rathgar Road,  
Dublin 6.

## A Chara.

As a regular reader of the UNITED IRISHMAN for the past 10 years who attended the Michael Davitt Memorial Meeting in Liberty Hall, I feel I must comment on your report of the meeting.

Rather than being poorly attended there was a large audience at the Davitt meeting as anyone who was present could tell your reporter. Such an inaccurate report is regrettable in view of the U.I.'s reputation for excellent journalism.

You quoted the meeting's chairman, Pól Ó Maolagáin, as saying that it was largely through the Land League's activity that a landless proletariat were transformed into a petty-bourgeois class, "a progressive step in its time".

The reader would assume this to be Mr. Ó Maolagáin's comment. In fact, Mr. Ó Maolagáin regretted that was the reality. Michael Davitt also regretted this result as he argued that the only real and lasting solution to the Land Question. Davitt's 1882 policy is still considered progressive in 1978.

Unfortunately, your brief report did not find space to show Davitt's relevance to workers and farmers' present-day problems.

Davitt called for State ownership of minerals. His work in the Labour Movement played a large part in the formation of the Irish Trade Union Congress. He would have regretted that it was necessary 100 years later for Senator Michael Muller (who incidentally attended the Davitt meeting) to have to urge that more determined use be made of Ireland's national resources to achieve full employment (reported in Irish Times, 27.3.78).

Another speaker, Francis Devine, gave an excellent speech on Davitt's 24 years of activity in the Labour Movement in Ireland and England, not to mention his participation in land struggles in Scotland and Wales.

Davitt saw that the key political issue in Ireland was the Land Struggle which alone had the power to mobilise the masses. The Land War of 1879-82 was developed as a political force even though the Land Nationalisation was not achieved.

Davitt's present-day relevance was recognised by Government Minister Mr. Ryan, who tried to mislead his audience at the Davitt Memorial Committee as to Davitt's real beliefs.

Mr. Ryan's attempt to rewrite history should be countered by a full page U.I. article on Davitt. Since this was not done in the April issue, I am sure it will be feasible later in the year. Best wishes.

John Quinn, Scotland, £2.50.

Liam and Bridie Ashe, New York, 35

dollars.

John Nolan, Bronx, New York, 20

dollars.

Judith Bird, New Zealand, £2.

John Sullivan, England, £3.

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Leo Uí Mhurchu Sinn Féin Cumann, Corcaigh, £5.

Martin Quigley, England, £1.

Limerick Comhairle Ceantair Sinn

Féin, £1.

Jim Skeffington, Queens, New York,

50 dollars.

Democratic Union of Brittany

(U.D.B.), 400 FF.

Major Carlos Wilson, California, 10

dollars.

Helena Molony Irish Republican

Club, San Francisco, 312 dollars.

Mac Curtin McSwiney Sinn Féin

Cumann, Corcaigh, £5.

The following is the Sinn Féin

Officer Board approved by the first

full meeting of the Sinn Féin Ard

Comhairle held at Gardiner Place,

Dublin, March 6, 1976.

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Sherlock, Mallow.

Secretaries: Maire de Burca,

Dublin and Tony Heffernan, Dublin.

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Radhaghda, Drogheada and

Malachy McGurran, Lurgan.

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Director of International Affairs:

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Smullen, Dublin.

Director of Education: Des O

Hagan, Belfast.

Director of Publicity: Sean O

Clonaithe, Dublin.

Director of Youth: Tony Heffernan,

Dublin.

National Election Agent: Denis

Foley, Tralee.

The following appointments were

also made:

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O'Caoláin, Dublin.

Spokesperson on Health: Dr. John

McManus, Bray.

Spokesperson on Justice: Women

and Housing: Maire de Burca,

Dublin.

The President of Sinn Féin, Tomas

Mac Giolla, was elected by the

delegates attending the 70th Ard

Féis in Dublin during January.

## LETTERS

young people of the Irish language and culture, not in a chauvinistic manner, but as a contribution to a greater world wide working class culture".

Cultural exchanges, music lessons, outings, hostelling and sports are just some of the recreational activities likely to be undertaken by the new movement.



Funds urgently needed for • Republican Prisoners Welfare  
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Strasbourg Appeal

## All Contributions Acknowledged

CABHAIR  
RESULTS

1st Prize: Rag Trade drawn by G. Hackett  
48 Stanhope Drive, Belfast.

2nd Prize: Red Rum drawn by H. Hjor  
man, Frodmsgatan 25, S-72721  
Uppsala, Sweden.

3rd Prize: Eyecatcher drawn by D. Murray  
13 Upper Sean McDermott St., Dublin.

The Cabhair Committee wish to thank all  
sellers and buyers of tickets for their help.

## OBITUARIES

The Republican Movement in Ireland and  
the Colonies, Seated at the Irish Republican  
Club, USA, Canada, express deepest  
sympathy to the friends and relatives of  
Liam Cottier, late of Tralee, who was shot dead  
New York April 12 last.

Tomas Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Féin  
and Malachy McGurran, Chairman of the  
County Executive of Republican Clubs,  
attended the funeral.

Limerick Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin  
express their deepest sympathy to the friends and relatives of  
Thomas Fennell, member of Sean Sabhat Cumann Limerick,  
who died April 10, aged 38 years.

Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle express the  
deepest sympathy to the friends and relatives  
of the late James Mitchell, father of Tom  
Mitchell, former Mid-Ulster M.P.

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## Plough boys punch ahead

Once again the Plough Boxing Team has upset the boxing world. This team of relatively inexperienced boxers, under their trainer, Tony Patterson, has been formed for less than a year but has gone from strength to strength and victory to victory. This time they got two winners in the important Mid Ulster Championships. Edward Rooney and Liam Quinn, and strong performances were put up by the rest of the squad, John Rooney, Jim Campbell, Ray Thompson, Tony Moan and Gary Fegan. At present, the Boxing Club is organising a Tournament for the under 11's and they have asked us to thank the Down Craven, Fermanagh, Ballymena, McLaughlin and Dromore Boxing Committees for their help towards this.

## Bham Easter concert



● Dominic Behan entertaining the audience in Birmingham.

Over 200 people attended the Easter Commemoration concert/rally organised by Clann na hEireann in Birmingham on Easter Sunday.

The rally was opened by Clann Organiser, Adrian Gallagher who explained the reasons and importance of holding the commemoration.

Dominic Behan, who compered the

concert, mixed a fine rendering of political songs with an explanation of the differences between the Republican Movement and those who lay false claims to the name.

A variety of musicians and singers from London and Birmingham entertained the audience, and the Proclamation was read by Con O'Connell of Birmingham Clann.

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## Rights and luxuries

Claran Mac Fadden Sinn Fein Ard Comhairle and Munster executive member addressing a well attended Easter commemoration at Inagh, Co. Clare called for an end to "the Government policy of selling out our natural resources to foreign companies".

He condemned the cut-backs in education and health services which were placing these important basic rights in the category of luxuries.

"Our nation", he said "is becoming retarded when it can justify the purchase of ten aeroplanes while calling a stop to further expenditure on the Health Service".

Mr. Mc Fadden said they honoured Captain Muriel Moloney who died in Inagh for the beliefs for which present day Republicans stood.

He concluded by asking the people to reject those who had sullied the name of Republicanism by their sectarian bombing campaign in the North.

## United Irishman

### SECULAR

It is seldom that Republicans have the opportunity to congratulate any member of the Coalition government particularly given the Right wing bias built into its Cabinet.

Dr. Fitzgerald's recent speech however calling clearly for a break between the Southern State and the moral teaching of the Roman Catholic Church is one which will be welcomed by all who believe in a secular society. It is a lighthouse beacon shining in Cooney controlled darkness.

The reasonable questions which are certain to be put not only in Skibbereen but also in Cullybackey are to what extent is Dr. Fitzgerald trying to offset the crudities of his colleague, the Minister for Justice, and how far has he been motivated by the column inches in the media which Dr. O'Brien won in his recent tilt with the hierarchy.

The sophisticated Dublin voter may well be of the opinion that the liberal Fitzgerald has his urbane eye on the electorate particularly the forthcoming bye-election in the largely working class South West constituency in the city.

No matter what reasons one may attribute to Dr. Fitzgerald's speech it is further evidence that the more aware of the current political leaders recognise that the tide of secular thinking is flowing more strongly now in Ireland than ever before.

Republicans holding

...the banner that the new era of the one of history. Dr. Fitzgerald is a small piece of evidence to that effect.

### MAY DAY

May Day is celebrated throughout the world as a workers' festival, a holiday for those whose toil recreates society daily.

Unfortunately in Ireland the working class has little to celebrate. 180,000 of their class are unemployed, rejected by the total failure of the present economic system to utilise their skills in the productive process.

When the parades have ended and the speeches ceased to echo it is this fact alone which confronts workers, whether on the shop floor, farm or at the computer. Unemployment and the threat of it are built into capitalism.

May Day is a demonstration of solidarity by all those who recognise that the system must be changed in the interests of those who create wealth, in other words, to a socialist society. This is the long term goal.

In the meantime workers must defend their living standards, existing jobs and pursue a policy which demands from the Government that our resources are taken into public ownership.

Marches and demonstrations are undoubtedly important. They awaken consciousness, but it is vital that the demands of the Irish working class are kept to the fore at all times through political action.

The Northern Ireland Convenor of the Union of Students in Ireland Mr. Peter Davies, issued the following statement last month after Mr. Cooney's extravagant attack on the Union.

The recent remarks by the 26 County Minister for Justice, Mr. Patrick Cooney, about the Union of Students in Ireland have met with stony opposition from student leaders in Northern Ireland.

Representatives of the Students Unions of Queens University, Belfast, St. Marys and St. Josephs College of Education have condemned Mr. Cooney's statement as a hysterical invective against a democratic union whose only 'crime' has been to consistently advocate improved income and conditions for its members and to concern itself with social inequality and injustice in our society.

### T.U. rally on unemployment

A major Trade Union Conference is planned for Dublin on Saturday, May 15, 1976. The sponsors of the Conference, entitled 'Economy and Unemployment' include Sen. M. Mullen, General Secretary, Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, Noel Harris, A.S.T.M.S. and Matt Merrigan, A.T.G.W.U. General Secretary.

The urgency of such a rally cannot be denied and as the sponsors state there has been a continuing deterioration of the economy and the growth of unemployment on a mass scale which has not provoked an adequate economic response from the Government.

With over 120,000 on the dole in the 26 Counties the Trade Union Movement must certainly engage in the pursuit of policies not only to arrest this figure but to create the jobs necessary to reverse the trend.

Participants at the mid-May conference are almost certain to raise the question yet again of current Government policy on minerals, gas and oil. It is likely also that the highly controversial issues of an oil refinery and a smelter will feature on the agenda.

Senator Mullen who is known to have strong views on an 'Irish pound' will be pushing for a full re-appraisal of the Irish banking system, including the link with sterling.

This responsible and constructive attitude of USI has been particularly evident in Northern Ireland, where the Union has tirelessly worked to overcome sectarian violence and repression and to secure fundamental human rights and adequate socio-economic conditions for all.

Mr. Cooney's slanderous remarks will make this task even more difficult in the coming months. To imply that a union such as USI is subversive is arrant nonsense and, more seriously, will serve to strengthen those bigoted and sinister elements who have a vested interest in maintaining the traditional divisions in the six counties.

Moreover Mr. Cooney's scaremongering language has put individual USI members at considerable personal risk in the North. One is entitled to expect a more objective and sensitive approach from the Justice Minister.

### S. W. Dublin bye-election

The Dublin South West bye-election brought about by the death of Noel Lemas, Flanna Faill is likely to prove a testing ground for the Coalition's economic and political policies.

This constituency is probably the largest working class area in the country and demonstrated this in the 1973 general election when they returned as one of their four choices Dr. John O'Connell with 9,865 first preference votes.

However, there is a serious possibility that Labour could poll no way near this figure in the bye-election as many observers feel that O'Connell has a large personal following and the Labour Party have no candidate at the moment with the same pull.

Fine Gael have as yet announced no prospective candidate although they are sure to be in the field, while Flanna Faill are certain to choose Eileen Lemas, widow of Noel Lemas, and member of Dublin Corporation.

The question facing the left is obviously difficult and there are sure to be pressures of Sinn Fein to enter the conflict. Many voter alive to the economic issues would certainly welcome the opportunity to demonstrate their disapproval of the disastrous policies of the Coalition and a strong Sinn Fein candidate could attract considerable support.

There is little point in saying that the Movement should have all types of service unless an effort to provide money to supply the accommodation to house them is forthcoming immediately. And unless this response, particularly from each cumann and club and indeed each Comhairle Ceannaithe and Regional Executive, improves vastly this talk will never be turned into action.

The guiding principles of our organisation are education, agitation and organisation our headquarters must be a centre for education, agitation and organisation to live up to its potential. The Head-Office must be more than simply the head-office of Sinn Fein in Dublin. It must be the powerhouse of national revolutionary activity co-ordinating, evaluating and directing all the many facets of political activity, through the whole country.

We need our own print house, which now at an advanced stage of planning, large lecture halls, meeting rooms, and of course a greatly expanded UI bookshop.

But all such development will remain only a pipe dream unless the money provided by Cumann Republican Club individuals can make the dreams real. They put their shoulders to the wheel. The provision of finance for THE HEADQUARTERS FUND should be on the Agenda for EVERY cumann and club meeting. Remember the only thing that cannot print is money and for that we rely on you — the members and supporters of the Movement.



© The out of date print shop at Headquarters.



# Perverted justice from the N.I. Bench

IN 1973, a research study entitled "Justice in N. Ireland", sponsored by the London-based Cobden Trust, (and supported by both the NCCL and the Westminster Parliamentary Civil Liberties Group) stated that after monitoring over 500 cases in the N. Ireland courts, they had found clear evidence of a "substantial degree of discrimination", against the Northern minority by the judiciary.

The authors, (one a lecturer in law at Queen's University, Belfast, the other a social administration lecturer at the New University of Ulster), further stated that "a clear sectarian bias", was demonstrated in police attitudes in court, and suggested that a reason for the lack of confidence in Northern courts was "the failure to deal effectively with the numerous allegations against the Security Forces". The findings of this study have never been effectively challenged, despite the protestations of both the "Northern Ireland office" and the R.U.C. themselves.

Last month, some of the findings of the Cobden Trust document were used by a Republican Club delegation giving evidence before a hearing of the Feather Commission on Human Rights. Arguing the urgent necessity for a Bill of Rights in the North, (which was recommended by the Cobden Trust Document), the delegates stated that a crucial element of the failure

## JONES

The Right Honourable Sir Edward Warburton Jones has been an Appeal Judge since 1973 before which he had served in the High Court since 1975, before he had been a High Court judge since 1968. Jones was educated at Portora Royal (a public school) and went to Trinity College, Dublin, where he was called to the bar and subsequently he served as Justices Crown Counsel for Down in 1939. During the war, Jones served with the Royal Irish Fusiliers, (left with a honorary rank) and became Lieutenant Colonel in 1946.

From 1945-55, Col. Jones served as Crown Counsel for Belfast. In 1951, he was elected M.P. for Derry city, and served until 1968. From 1964 until 1968, he was Unionist Attorney General for N. Ireland, after which he entered the High Court.

Jones has a long record as a biased Unionist and Orangeman. In 1950, speaking at an Orange Commemoration on the 12th July, he said: "Ulster is the most militant and assailed by a most insidious campaign of propaganda, and we must be prepared for its growth and intensification. To defeat it we must have a plan, and I commend the value of acts of Jeeds in preference to speeches. Speaking to a meeting of the Mid Armagh Unionist Association in 1957, Jones stated: "We have been handed the six counties of N. Ireland, largely Unionist and largely Protestant and that is what we want and are going to fight for".

On the 3rd Feb., 1958, he said "What our leaders told us was the right and positive and freedom was eternal vigilance... For our protection and our enemies to see that the people in this country who hold important positions are loyalists". In the same month, speaking to the Middle Liberties Unionist Association in Derry, he stated that "anyone who says that only Unionists are Loyalists is in whatever denomination had the right to be employed, that was a perfectly reasonable proposition".

A good example of his discriminatory attitude in the present situation was a report of one day in court in Jord Justice Jones court. Two senior members of a Loyalist paramilitary organisation admitted carrying more than 300 rounds of ammunition into Belfast at the time when sectarian killings were at a high occurrence in the city. Their defence counsel said "they were actually involved in social work", and that their activities in the organisation were "of a non-violent nature".

They gained them a suspended sentence of two years, and they walked out of court. The very next case involved an 18 year old youth from Newry, who had been beaten by R.U.C. and admitted to being a member of the "IRA". He also said that he had once acted as a look-out when guns were being removed. Stating that the "IRA" was an organisation that "polluted the country", Jones sentenced the youth to five years' imprisonment.

of confidence in the entire system in the North was the grossly biased political connections of the judiciary, while on a wider level, the constitutional inadequacies of the judicial system had failed totally to act as an effective guarantee of civil liberties, at a time when such a guarantee was vitally needed.

Stating that accepted constitutional law in N. Ireland was clearly inadequate, the Republican Club members maintained that only an entrenched Bill of Rights in N. Ireland, defining and defending liberties clearly, could put an end to the daily infringements of human rights in the North, and create the environment in which democratic standards could be established.

But clearly, while there are many other political and social aspects to the Bill of Rights question, unless the introduction of such a Bill is accompanied by a thorough-going purge of the Northern judiciary, whose notorious biases are catalogued in the continuing biographical series below, the abuses of democratic standards and justice will continue in the North.

## GIBSON

Sir Maurice Gibson has been an appeal judge since 1975, before he had been a High Court judge since 1968. He too was educated at the R.B.A.I., followed by Queen's University, Belfast. Gibson was called to the bar in 1958, and has defended himself in a series of decisions while on the bench.

On the 16th May 1975, in the CUSACK case, where Seamus Cusack, an R.U.C. constable, was dead, an British soldier, Derry Garrison, was tried for the killing. Gibson stated in the High Court that the dead man was "on the balance of probability unarmed" when shot. He further stated that the soldier was not reasonably in believing that Cusack was armed, but then denied that Cusack's negligence was equal to that of the soldier, for allegedly participating in a riot shot.

The inevitable conclusion is that Gibson believes in substituting the death penalty for the normal six month sentence for riotous behaviour. No action was taken against the soldier.

In the MCKENNA torture case, where 3 RUC men and a soldier were charged with inflicting a severe bodily harm on P. McKenna, a political detainee in Cookstown RUC station, in giving judgment, Gibson admitted that McKenna had received a savage beating and severe treatment while in police station. He said that "this was a state of affairs which is utterly reprehensible and cannot be tolerated".

He then said "I don't suppose anyone will ever know the truth of the matter", and found all the men not guilty, despite the evidence. In other cases, Gibson has acquired a reputation for sharp distinctions between arms-cases involving Loyalists and non-Loyalists, both in terms of bail and also in sentencing, taking the view that the Loyalists are "defending the country".

Topping's record on the Bench leaves no doubt as to his bias. In dealing with an appeal by Frank Gogarty, the C.R. Executive member charged with "using insulting and abusive language", to British soldiers, originally sentenced to 12 months in prison, Topping reduced the sentence but also increased it by binding Gogarty over for two years. In fact, Topping's hard-line bias reached such a peak that in 1976, he refused the Opposition's request to the Government called on the Government to remove Topping from his position as Recorder of Belfast because of their "concern over the present administration of the judicial system in N. Ireland".



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## TOPPING

The Right Honourable Walter William Topping, a former British Army Colonel is currently Belfast City Judge. Topping was born in 1908, and educated at Rossall School and Queen's University. Having been called to the Bar in 1939, Topping was elected Unionist Chief Whip, and in 1956 he was made Minister of Home Affairs.

## Menace

As an Orangeman, Topping has never been distinguished by discretion in his public remarks from the start of his career. Speaking at Doagh, Co. Antrim in 1948, he stated that "In every Protestant district in N.I. a fight is due to the fact that in Derry should be set up to combat the menace of Roman Catholic infiltration."

The Protestant religion had two great enemies. Firstly the R.C. Church seeks to impose their religion on Protestant's secondly, Communists seek to take religion away from Protestants.

At Stormont on the 6th June 1951, Topping of the Nationalists, opined "their objective is to obtain jobs and houses in order to gain power, but control of the economy that is the only way to succeed". Referring to the B-Specials on June 10th 1959, Topping stated "I have never known a more discreditable or more irresponsible body of men than I am proud to be associated with them". As Minister of Home Affairs in the same year, he said "We are determined that we will not give up our principles for the sake of peace. That we shall never do".

## Bias

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## KELLY

Basil Kelly was appointed a High Court judge in 1973. Previously he had been a M.P. and Attorney General for N.I., having been elected for Mid-Down to Stormont in 1964. Kelly was educated at Methodist College, Belfast and Trinity College, Dublin. For a period he served as Senior Crown Counsel for Fermanagh, then in 1968, he became Unionist Attorney General and thus had the role of senior legal expert in the Unionist Government during the whole upsurge of the Civil Rights Movement in the late sixties.

With Robert Porter, the Unionist Minister of Home Affairs, Kelly thought up the idea of a mandatory prison sentence for the destruction of property himself said, in an admission that must be unique . . . "Inevitably harsh cases will arise as a result of this Bill perhaps even wrong convictions on the basis of mistakes . . .". In fact the rule-making committee of the Act and the consequent clauses guaranteed its repeal.

One year later in Stormont, members of the Opposition tabled a motion of censure on Kelly, complaining that he was "politically biased in carrying out his job as A.G. or depute court president". The motion was carried and he was called on the Government to remove Judge Topping because of their concern "over the administration of the judicial system in N. Ireland".

On the 15th March 1974, Kelly presided over the trial of Conal Foxford, who shot 18 year old Kevin Healy dead in Newry in 1973. Found the soldier guilty and sentenced him to three years. (This should be compared with sentences of 11 years and 12 years imposed on the same crime on a 20 year-old Republicans accused of attempting to murder a soldier who had not even been wounded). Sentencing Foxford, Kelly expressed his sympathy with Irish Republicans and what they had to say. "We have suffered this", the Judge said to Foxford, "with cheerfulness, dignity and restraint". Foxford was later freed on bail pending an appeal, at which, not unexpectedly, he was found guilty, despite the facts, by Lords Curran and Jones.



• Sir Edward Warburton-Jones.

# State sponsored Building Industry demand

## for North

# Housing finance

### Britain's "Fair Rents" strategy

The Housing Finance Act of 1972, introduced in Britain by the Tories, established the concept of a "fair rent". In practice a fair rent is a rent which goes up and up and up. The Act was in fact an unsuccessful attempt to deal with the complex problem of housing finance.

It introduced a new system of housing subsidies; amended the law about rents and provided for rent rebates and allowances. The Act was severely criticised by tenant's associations in Britain because it drastically increased their rents. Tenants often paid more in rents than they would have had to had they been making mortgage repayments on the same property.

The administration of the Rent Rebate Scheme involved the imposition of a Means Test - Britain's 44th! Tenants were also concerned that such a large proportion of local authority rents were going to meet heavy interest charges and the profits of private building companies. The Bill also dramatically increased the price of land.

The introduction of the "fair rents" strategy into Northern Ireland produced a similar outcry from community groups which led to the blocking of roads, public protests and the withholding of the rent increases in particular areas of Belfast. The rent on Housing Executive houses was first increased by 5% on the 7th April 1975 and by another 5% on the 1st April 1976. The current rent of a modern three bedroom house in Northern Ireland is £3.90p which compares very favourably with its equivalent in Edinburgh which is £8.65p per week.

The campaign has been spearheaded by the Greater West Belfast Community Association and the North-West Federation of Tenants Associations. These groups have produced small leaflets detailing their concern as to why public housing is blocked in Northern Ireland. Both want a rent freeze pending a public inquiry on the subject. The conservative newspaper the Belfast Telegraph referred sarcastically to the withholding of rent as an attempt by pressure groups to change the other side of the political divide ... to change the whole of housing finance ... payment of rent, regardless of the hardships incurred.

However, the campaign has wide political support from political parties and pressure groups affected deep concern on the issue. Austin Corrie the spokesman oddly enough

housing one day would be completely free of charge - a pious statement. In spite of the fact that the rent increases are a further attack on the depressed living standards of working class people in the North, it cannot be denied that there remains a deep ignorance on the part of many, about the financing of public housing in Northern Ireland.

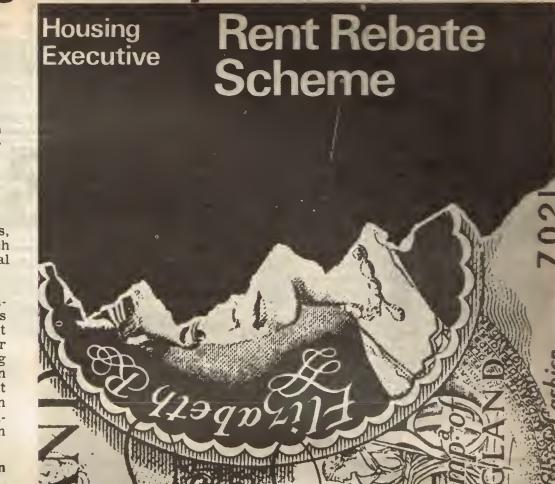
#### The £90,000 house - Fact or Fiction

The major slogan in the tenant's associations armoury has been that it costs the Housing Executive £90,000 to build a house and pay the interest rates on it. If this figure were to be translated into a weekly rent it would be £33 per week. This figure is seemingly unbelievable but is strictly correct. It is the total sum of money paid by the Housing Executive over a sixty year period on loans secured by the Government from banks and finance houses at punishing interest rates.

Who benefits from these exorbitant interest rates? It is the banks from which in a capitalist society the government must borrow its money. This is a simple example of capitalist economics and has been well documented in Sinn Fein's document on 'The Banks'. Slogans and bombs cannot change unpalatable facts. The change this enormous waste of taxpayers' money will necessitate a revolutionary change of society.

The Northern Ireland needs a clearly defined housing policy based on democratic socialist principles. The brutal fact of the matter is that NO government - Labour, Conservative or Unionist in the past - has had a consistent housing policy. This has led to homelessness with massive homelessness, overcrowding, and thousands of families living in substandard housing conditions.

The cost of housing finance is a major issue to unravel. For the past year a major inquiry has been conducted into this matter. However, when he was chairman of the Enquiry, Austin Corrie



beyond "a housing policy of ad hoc'ery and crisis management and find out precisely what needs to be done if we are to get on top of this desperate social problem once and for all."

The membership of the advisory group to oversee the housing finance review includes Professor Barry Cullingworth, director of Glasgow Planning Exchange; Mr. Frank Layfield, Q.C. Chairman of the inquiry into local government finance generally; and Mr. Harry Simpson, ex-N.I.H.E. and now housing controller for the Greater London Council. The urgent need for a fresh approach to housing finance in all sectors, which would produce a reasonable, sensible and fair system to meet the cost implications of rising standards and ensure that housing aid was distributed where it was most needed has been recognised for several years in Britain. A similar inquiry is long overdue in Northern Ireland where housing conditions are among the worst in Europe. Thus the Republican Clubs welcome the demands of the tenants' associations for a public inquiry into the financing of public housing.

#### RENTS - ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL

The following table illustrates how the rent of the Housing Executive home in Figure (1) was worked out:

	£
Loan charges at 16.8% .....	1,400
Repairs and Management .....	52
Total Annual Outlay .....	1,452
Less Subsidy Current .....	780
Net Annual Outlay .....	672

Cost of a home in 1975			
PRIVATE		PUBLIC	
Painting and Journeymen .....	225	Buildings .....	5,700
Gilding and Glazing .....	800	Ancillary Works .....	700
Plumbing and Electrical .....	1,350	Engineering Works .....	690
Electrical .....	340	Other Capital Works .....	—
Engineering .....	270	TOTAL .....	7,090
Tiles and Roofing .....	200	Add 7½% contingency .....	530
Brickwork .....	700	Add Land Fees, etc. ....	840
Foundations .....	1,000		
Ground .....	400		
Services laid on .....	610		
Services laid on .....	100		
Bricks .....	100		
Labour .....	2,000		
Less subsidy .....	£10,435		
	385		
		Total Capital Cost .....	£8,660

- BELFAST: Parade Colour Party.
- NEWRY: The Fianna Eireann contingent.
- DUBLIN: Sinn Fein — The Worker's Party.
- The Cork Volunteer Band leads the way.
- BELFAST — the people with most to gain.

# EASTER 1976



EXTRACT FROM THE EASTER STATEMENT FROM THE LEADERSHIP OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT.

The sixtieth anniversary of the 1916 Rising is marked not by the secularism, socialism or egalitarianism espoused by the signatories of the proclamation of the Republic but by an almost unprecedented wave of sectarianism and materialism.

The perpetrators range from those who called themselves decently willing to be in some way associated with Republicanism of 1916, to the same British Army faced by the men of 1916, to those Irishmen in positions of power in the South who would wish to have not yet the courage, to officially obliterate the names and the teachings of Connolly and Pearse from our national life.

"It is ten years since the Golden Jubilee of the 1916 Rising. A widespread study of the motives and ideals which inspired the Rising, and, an examination of developments since that august event. As a result, many, for the first time, realised the true nature of the

... and encouraged as a

... and that its destruction lies within

... their power and that only by its destruction can they have lasting peace.

"Our perseverance in propagating Republicanism has also had its results in the

"The parties which have controlled the 26 Counties since its foundation and their policies, are now being seen for what they are — props to maintain a system of privilege and exploitation. Clear Republican alternatives are being presented, increasing attention is being paid to those in a position who have had enough of their old discredited ways.

"We look to the future with confidence. Our policies will continue to be propagated freely and honestly. Our commitment is unashamed to the Republic proclaimed in Easter Week 1916. The ideals of that Proclamation are those of the Socialist Socialist Republic towards which we strive.

"We believe that the people of this country share the same basic values as the Republic. Growing numbers realise that this country can afford to live in such a Republic. We see our task as alerting them to the realisation that the organised power of their intellects and their numbers can bring that Republic into being."

"The result is well known. The release of

the Provisional monster shattered the unity

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... S.D.L.P. sold out on the only

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"... the introduction of civil rights

... the road to power for them was the

... Civil Rights Movement but when

... they got to power they worked out a

... new sectarian deal and called it

... power-sharing.

"At the roots of the civil rights

... struggle is an unrelenting

... unequivocal opposition to sec-

... tarianism. Sectarianism is the

... enemy to democracy and the Civil

... Rights campaign is aimed at

... destroying that enemy.

Sean O'Clonaithe, member of Sinn Fein Ard Chomhairle, speaking in South Down.

"... Northern Ireland has been turned into a huge laboratory for its Army, police and intelligence services to practise against the rising threat of the British democracy. We in Ireland are the guinea pigs of the last and most perverted experiment of the British Empire which Ireland's example has done so much to overturn. While condemning every act of barbarity from whatever source we recognise that it is Britain which presides over the machine of sectarian slaughter in our community and which refuses to dismantle that machine despite the civil rights campaign of the past years.

"The wise men in London, Belfast and Dublin knew what they were at — one sectarian monster would feed upon the other and the rest, they hoped, would be the total destruction of the people. But they have not been totally successful. The struggle has been shattered, has not been destroyed.

"All the turmoil in the Republican Movement stood firm. British bullets, Provisional Alliance bullets, Loyalist bullets, ultra-left bullets took their toll but the anti-sectarian voice of Republicanism was not silenced.

"The justification and reward for our perseverance is becoming daily more apparent. The quest for peace in the North today has, as we have advocated, been taken up by the people who have most to gain from peace — the working people organised in the trade

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"The parties which have controlled the 26 Counties since its foundation and their policies, are now being seen for what they are — props to maintain a system of privilege and exploitation. Clear Republican alternatives are being presented, increasing attention is being paid to those in a position who have had enough of their old discredited ways.

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"Our slogan of Peace, Work and Class Politics which is catching the imagination of Irish workers is the only recipe for progress. It is the basis of the fight against sectarianism and the struggle for peace among the people.

"Without peace there can be no real fight against unemployment which now stands at 50,000 in the North alone. Republicanism has the answers to both problems of both political and economic violence. For we do not preach a doctrine of violence but a recipe for the elimination of the causes of violence.

Michael O'Riain, member of the Sinn Fein Ard Chomhairle, speaking in South Down.

"... This imperialist grip we have pol-... out is one which knows no border in... centrism. It will only be loosened by a... people fighting for their rights. These... have taken the disastrous shortsighted... diverted attention from this fact as they... from the denial of Civil Rights, increased... increasing repression, the sellout of... rights and the effects of economic... crisis. Britain and her imperial allies... continue to rule and exploit as Irish men, wo... and children are slaughtered in the inter-... of one strand of sectarianism or another wo... all share economic hardship.

We seek to allow the people to the deep... economic crisis. Northern Ireland must... organise them in a united campaign for... We seek to educate the people to... awareness of the wealth guaranteed by... discovery of resources such as oil, gas... minerals, to convince them that this we... belongs to them.



Sean Garland, National Organiser, Sinn Fein speaking in Belfast.

The Republican Movement emphasises that there must be no distinction no differences in rights or opportunities and no divisions between Protestant and Catholic workers.

We are not to be dissuaded from that view, it is realistic. It is honest and it is sensible. But not only that it is the only view which can succeed, in solving the problems of our times.

I say to Protestant workers whatever our opinions of British and Irish ruling class politicians we are at one in being suspicious of their intentions, we are also at one in striving for a working class resolution to our problems.

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Kevin Smyth, Member of Sinn Fein Ard Chomhairle and Secretary, Six County Executive of Republican Clubs, speaking in DUBLIN.

"If ever Republicans could boast of the correctness of their policies it is today in relation to Northern Ireland. From the outset we maintained that the solution to the problems of the North could not be found by back room dealing between sectarian parties. The old

nationalist parties had been engaged in such dealings with the old Unionist party for 50 years. Their deals had not ended bigotry, sectarianism and discrimination.

"The new deals worked out between the new nationalists and the new unionists did not, as we predicted, bring any solution. The S.D.L.P. sold out on the only realistic progressive policy for N.I.

"... the introduction of civil rights the road to power for them was the Civil Rights Movement but when they got to power they worked out a

... new sectarian deal and called it power-sharing.

"At the roots of the civil rights struggle is an unrelenting unequivocal opposition to sectarianism. Sectarianism is the enemy to democracy and the Civil Rights campaign is aimed at destroying that enemy.



## BAELTAINNE

Speaking in Cork on Easter Sunday, Malachy McGurran, Vice-president of Sinn Fein and Chairman, Six County Executive of Republicans Clubs: "We came here today sixty years after the Easter Rising to do, not in any empty commemoration of death, not to dwell on the past, but rather to look forward to the future in proclaiming the democratic content of the Easter message."

Today the Republican movement continues to stand by that message in the face of all adversity, and despite the most vicious attacks from the enemies of the Republic and the enemies of the Irish working people. That is the crucial slogan of the day, the cry which we, the leaders and successors of the people's struggle, have called out to the world.

But though prepared to die themselves they did not demand this sacrifice of innocent people. Not for them the proxy bomb that forces a man to take a lethal weapon into a crowded town on threat of his own families' lives.

To save Dublin and its citizens they walked out to certain death and did so gladly. By what possible perversion of the word Republican do our latter-day Provisional murderers claim kinship with such high minded but practical patriotism.

**Tomas Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Fein, speaking at the Easter Commemoration in Armagh, Monday 19th April, 1976.**

"Ten years ago we celebrated the 50th Anniversary of the Easter 1916 Rising. That occasion marked a new reawakening of Irish political life. The young people of 1966 gained a new insight into the meaning of Republicanism and realised the sham and hypocrisy of Irish politics during the previous 50 years. The workers saw the greatness of Connolly and the relevance of his message and the whole pace of left wing politics in Ireland began to quicken. The remainder of the 60's were years of progress and years of great hope for the Irish people.

"Today we commemorate the 60th Anniversary of Easter Week. We are ten years further on in time but 20 years further back in politics. The counter-revolutionary campaign of the Fianna Fail Provisional Alliance has brought us back to the days when the workers' cause was forgotten and the workers' demands were denied.

During the workers' natural desire for peace to beat them into submission and entrench themselves in power. Both regimes need the 'threat to security' provided by the sectarian forces of Loyalists and Provisionals. If they didn't exist they would have to invent some other threat to divert attention from the grave economic

Speaking at an Easter Commemoration organised by the Republican Clubs at Lurgan, Co. Armagh on Easter Monday, Malachy de Buca, Ard Fheis Chairman of the Six County Executive of Republicans Clubs: "It is a fact of history that the men of 1916 chose to surrender, and in surrendering go knowingly to their deaths, because, appalled at the indifference of the British forces to civilian casualties, they believed their surrender would save innocent lives. They could have held out longer, they could have razed Dublin to the ground behind them, they could have destroyed homes and workshops and beautiful buildings for the personal satisfaction of killing out the British."

Despite those who perverted the non-sectarian message and democratic values of the Easter Rising, despite the massive attacks from the enemies of the Republic and the enemies of the Irish working people. That is the crucial slogan of the day, the cry which we, the leaders and successors of the people's struggle, have called out to the world.

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crisis which is steadily eroding workers' living standards and creating ever longer unemployment queues.

"At a time when workers need to unite as never before to protect themselves from the greatest economic onslaught ever unleashed upon them the so-called followers of Wolfe Tone are setting them at each other's throats and deliberately trying to engineer a civil war. At a time of massive unemployment and daily factory closures and lay-offs the so-called followers of Connolly are bombing or burning the factories that are still operating and putting more workers out of jobs.

## EASTER 1976

"It is time the organised workers asserted their authority in the North. The field is now open to them. The Total Worker movement campaign for a 'Better Life For All' is a start in the right direction but workers and their trade unions must take a determined stand against the so-called Provisional members and assassins. Such a move would take great courage but it could pay tremendous dividends in uniting workers for the major economic battles which lie ahead.

"Now that almost all other major political issues have become largely irrelevant the demand for a Bill of Rights should take the centre of the

"It is becoming cheaper each day

political stage. It was this demand for equal rights and equal opportunities for all citizens which brought thousands of people on the streets in the late 1960's. It was this appeal which got such widespread support both in Ireland and internationally that the Stormont and Westminster Governments were forced to bow to the peoples' demands.

"It was only the intervention of

the sectarian bombers and assassins which saved the British Government and broke the solidarity of the peoples' campaign for Civil Rights. The politicians who later formed the SDLP rode to political power on the Civil Rights bandwagon and then abandoned it.

"We cannot rely on either the Westminster or Dublin Governments to protect the interests of Irish workers.

### Industrialisation

It is obvious that workers throughout Ireland must fight for every industry, must fight for every contract, must fight for every job. The greatest potential for industrialisation of the country and the creation of thousands of new jobs lies in the development, refining and use for further production in Ireland of our mineral, oil and gas resources. Through an Economic Development Council for all of Ireland, workers could carry on a joint campaign to ensure this is done.

"It is becoming cheaper each day

"The most important political question facing Ireland is the question of mass unemployment. It is here more than any other part of our national life that the breakdown of the present system can be seen.

The philosophy of the 'small man' was presented for many years in this country by Churchill and Macmillan as well as others. It was something basically good that the essence of virtue was to be found in that way of ordering life. This sort of reasoning was the foundation of the policy of the Fianna Fail party and it is still being advocated by a sort of people who would have the ordinary people of this country believe that they are their friends.

We as a party believe that the State should

spend the taxpayers' money setting up industrial enterprises which are state-owned and controlled and managed. We as a party believe that the present State communities should move and bring our resources and industry under State control and management.

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# O'Leary under fire

The Minister for Labour, Mr. Michael O'Leary has thought of yet another plan to delay concrete action on women's rights. He has set up a "public agency" to eliminate discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity.

The Minister contends that it will take more than legislation to guarantee women an equal place in society. It will indeed but legislation would make a welcome starting point, said the Sinn Féin National Women's Committee last month.

The proposed agency will not be operational until next year and then there will be hearings, and sittings and court injunctions and unfortunate women could be dead before their wrongs have been righted.

What is to prevent Government Ministers from getting together now to pass emergency legislation outlawing all forms of discrimination? The Minister for Social Welfare could start with equalising unemployment assistance for both sexes, the Minister for Justice could abolish actions for Criminal Conversation, the Minister for Health could provide immediate family planning services for all women, the Minister for Education could end discrimination in educational opportunities and Mr. O'Leary himself

has the opportunity to end discrimination in the whole area of employment. None of this need take any longer than a month given the will to do it.

If the Minister for Labour is really determined to end discrimination against women, which we believe, he is not, then he would, as a matter of urgency, implement existing



• Michael O'Leary —anything but action.

legislation and introduce new legislation. Telling women that legislation is not enough is rather like telling a hungry man that you would give him a slice of bread but it would not cure his condition. Give us the bread and then worry about our general condition.

Mairin de Burca,  
Sinn Féin National Women's Committee.

# End terror and repression now

In a joint statement issued after the April meeting of the Tyrone Executive of Republican Clubs Councillors Frank McElroy, Carrickmore, Eugene Lyttle, Coalisland and Jim McQuaid, Donaghmore said that the continuing infringements on and the increasing denial of our human rights warrants the immediate introduction of a comprehensive Bill of Rights.

The statement continued "Virtually all the political parties in the six counties have said that they believe that a Bill of Rights is necessary but they differ in the type of Bill they believe is required. The Unionists and their ilk seek a Bill which will guarantee the minimum democratic rights. What we demand is a Bill, such as that proposed by N.I.C.R.A., which will guarantee the maximum amount of democratic rights.

"The Bill we envisage would guarantee (a) a person's freedom to belong to any political party and to be active in promoting the aims of that party, (b) that the forces of the Crown would be made answerable to the people for their behaviour. This could be done by the setting up of a completely independent body made up of representatives of the whole community which could investigate any complaints made against the forces of the Crown and which would have the power to reprimand anybody found guilty of misbehaviour, (c) the continuation of P.R. as the most democratic method of voting because it ensures a wider representation of views especially from minority groups in our community and (d) that a person charged with an offence would be presumed innocent until proven guilty

and not the opposite as is the case at the moment under the Emergency Provisions Act where the onus is on the accused to prove his or her innocence."

The statement from the Councillors continued, "This Bill would put an end to (a) repressive legislation such as the Emergency Provisions Act under which the forces of the Crown harass the working class people of the six counties by means of house searches and interrogations, (b) torture and beatings and the possibility of internment being re-introduced, and (c) discrimination in employment or the allocation of housing on grounds of religion, politics, sex, race or colour."

In conclusion the statement from the Councillors said "The fact that practically all the political parties in the six counties have agreed that a Bill of Rights is necessary seems to have escaped the British Government as they established a Standing Advisory Commission to investigate if one is really necessary." Surely the tax payers money would be put to better use if this Commission would get down to discussing with all interested parties, what should be in such a Bill of Rights."

# Family planning rights

for so doing.

Sinn Féin recognises the magnificent work done, against great odds by the Family Planning Clinics. These voluntary groups, should not, however, be asked to bear the brunt of such vitally important work.

They have proved that there is a great demand for such services and that demand must now be satisfied by the local Health Boards until a more enlightened and humane attitude prevails amongst doctors and in particular, members of the Irish Medical Association.

# NATIONAL COLLECTION

The Sinn Féin National Collection for 1976 gets under-way later this month with collections throughout Kilkenny City and County during the week-end of the 28th, 29th and 30th. Collections will follow in ALL other areas, both North and South, during the coming months.

A special effort from every member and supporter to ensure that this year is the most successful national collection to date, has been made by the Ard Comhairle.

When the National Collection is taken up in your area, make sure to play your part.



**Sinn  
Fein  
Platform**



• Republican Clubs Councillor Frank McElroy.



• Belfast's Albert Street —an example of why a State building industry is needed.

## State building industry needed

Kevin Smith, a member of Sinn Fein Ard Comhairle strongly condemned the continuing decline in house production in N. Ireland and called for the setting up of a state-sponsored building industry.

He made this call following the publication of housing statistics for the last quarter of 1975 which was issued by the Department of the Environment. These figures reveal that the production of homes was down by more than 1,000 units compared with the previous year.

Mr. Smith called for the establishment of a state-sponsored building industry to supplement the work of private contractors which at the moment is stretched to the limit building a mere 9,000 houses per year. The new 5 year plan of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive is to build 30,000 to 40,000 homes between 1976 and 1980 and leading spokesmen for the building industry have warned already that they will not be able to complete this number of houses. Therefore, a new initiative is needed to raise the production of homes to the minimum accepted level of 20,000 units per year.

The advantages of the State stepping into the gap at this moment are enormous, Mr. Smith continued. It would alleviate the present chronic level of unemployment in the building industry where one in three building workers is unemployed.

A State-sponsored building industry would offer year round employment. By removing the uncertainty of employment, it would stop the flow of men away from the building industry. By operating on a province-wide basis, it would benefit from economies of scale by efficient planning and the most efficient distribution of labour and materials.

A state-sponsored building industry would also be able to concentrate resources in those areas in which need rather than demand is greater. But most important of all at this moment of financial cut-backs a state-sponsored industry would ensure good quality public housing at the keenest cost to the tax-payer.

In N. Ireland today and particularly in West Belfast thousands of families and

have inspected the proposed phase 1 site and are confident that 14 houses can be built.

A survey on the size of family units currently residing there has also been presented to allow the planners to assess accurately housing need and size of units of homes required in the programme.

The Belfast Executive of Republican Clubs welcome the interest and enthusiasm

of all Departments of the Housing Executive concerned in having this area redeveloped and said the only difficulty now to be overcome lies at the Department of Housing.

They asked for maximum unity of all residents and groups in the area to ensure that this final obstacle can be overcome quickly and that work can begin within the next few months on one of the worst areas of slum housing in Western Europe.

## Clear Europe's worst slum call

Belfast Councillor Bernie McDonagh has met with representatives of the Development Department of the N.I. Housing Executive and the local Tenants' Association and submitted a phased planning programme for the replacement of the Westrock aluminium bungalows which would not involve any tenant having to leave the area to permit development plans to proceed.

The Regional Architect and Surveyor

## Down under

The annual general meeting of the Irish Republican Clubs of Australia was held in the Trade Hall, Sydney, Australia during March. John McGee, was elected Chairman; Alan Lyton, Vice Chairman; Pat Gorman, Secretary P.R.O.; Fergus Russell, Education Officer; and John Flavin and Alan Lyton, Treasurers.

Anyone wishing to join or help the Irish Republican Clubs of Australia New Zealand should write to: Patrick Gorman, 11/28 Simpson Street, Bondi 2026, Sydney, NSW, Australia.

The Green Cross Organisation which funds a fund raising body in Australia for the dependents of all Irish Political Prisoners in Ireland and Britain did not in any way support or maintain any group other than the Provisionals.

Capital is an organisation that maintains the family of the Republican Movement. The Capital Committee's address in Ireland is 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

Any Australian or New Zealander supporter of The Republican Movement wishing to help the families of its political prisoners should contact CABHAIR C/O John McGee, 6, Railway Road, Marayong, Sydney, 2148, AUSTRALIA.



**JOIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT**

"Wherever there is conflict between the masses and the interests of the ruling few, between capital and the value of human life, the Republican Movement will take its stand with the people, to educate, organise, agitate and fight so that the people may go forward in dignity and consciousness to the final success... ownership of their resources, control of their destinies." (Liam McMillan, Bodenstown, 1973)

For further information write to:  
 Sinn Fein Headquarters, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.  
 or to one of the following addresses.  
 Ballinasloe, P. Kilcock, Kilkenny.  
 Belfast Republican Club, 40 Cypress Street, Belfast 12.  
 Brian D. Tobin, 77 O'Byrne Road.  
 Cork: Thomas Ashe Hall, Fr. Mathew Quay.  
 Derry: 28 Great James's Street.  
 Drogheda: Foresters' Hall, North Quay.  
 Galway: 5, New Dublin.  
 Kilkenny: P. Mac Gearailt, Ballyferriter.  
 Limerick: F. Reynolds, c/o 19 New Road, Kileely.  
 Newry: 1 Trevor Hill.  
 Britain: Clann na hEireann, 173/175 Lozells Road, Lozells, Birmingham 19.  
 USA & Canada: Irish Republican Clubs, 37-76 64th Street, Woodside, New York 11377.

I Wish to Join the Sinn Fein Party

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

# Glúaiseacht náisiunta glúaiseacht chearta na Gaeilge

Nil fath ar bith go mbeadh Glúaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeilge ag casáid faoi phobilliach o RTE le deireannál. Fuair siad a ndothain, agus eis siad achar a ndóigh mar tá siad tareis celim mhór a ghlaicint un tosaigh agus se Iomána Domhnaill is bun chuis leis in aindeoín feln.

E fein agus a chuid geasúcháin le Udaras na Gaeilge. Na gá dom mar sin tracht a scríbh ar an chruinniu i gCois Fharraige (Cheap Tuairiscail sa Tímes ar rud ceannála) a chéile go direach tracht ar na cupla rud a bá mho a chuaigh i bhfeidhim orm feln le linn an chruinnithe.

(a) Aontachtionlán na mball faoi a bhuin aidhm gearrthearmach — Udaras ceart.

(b) Diogras na mball gniomhaiochtanois leis an Udaras a bhaint amach.

Ba lear an da rud sin go hontach solleir o "shean stoc" na Gaeilge a bhi cupla gealt i lathair na de shean-stoc a Gaeilge a iad agus bhfearrde sa "teach mor" iad. Níos éigigh leo an chruinniu a chuir amu ach deirigh leo mar a duirt "sean lead" as Cois Fharraige liom fein "fionn mulse" a chuir ar mhóran daolini.

Níl ma a radh anois go ralbh ionlán na "strainseir" seo mar sin. Níl ralbh agus ta fhios acu san ce ait a bhfuil me ag caint. Tá siad lonaithe ar na cuiní is fulde amuigh i bhfeidhmi orm feln le linn an chruinnithe.

Ach ni fiu a bheith ag caint níos mo orthu agus ta súil agam go dtíbharfar cic sa ton doibhthá amach as an

Glúaiseacht gan mhoill sul a mbeidh siad ciontach as an doigh sin.

Ba chuid eile againn a bheith "bailligh soir" no imithe go dtí an "Teach Mor".

Clinim agus feicim gobhfuil an coiste thar a bheith gníomhach cheanna fein agus ta súil againn le Ardan Phort an Iarla roimh dheireadh ná Bealtaine. Beidh se de dhualgas ar gach glúaiseacht sa tir a mhaoinn Gaeilgeas de sheort ar bith a bheith i lathair agus tabhairt le taispeáint don Aire go bhfuil Eileamh Náisiunta ar Udaras na

Gaeilge.

Ní doigh liom fein gur leor písead ann fein, bá choir deanamh mar a rinne na mic-leinni i Hume St. — na h-oifigi a ghabhail agus an agóid a choinéal i mbeal an phobair a

an doigh sin.

Chifidh me tu ann a leithéid agus bhfeidir go bhíonnighidh sinn loistin na h-oiche o Tom saor in aisce!

## Cuimhneachan Chathal Bui

An fhad is a bhl ñaodain ag ol, ceol agus ag  
cant le linn Eilge Ghóill! Ros Góill bhí  
dream é tarthach ag comoradh "patrún na  
bpoiteirí", Cathal Bui Mac Giolla Ghuma  
i Domhnach Móilighlin i gConadé  
Muineacháin.

Nóth siad leacht chumhmeachan ins a radh  
a cultreadh e agus is cuis aithslí domh a radh  
gur bhíofú le thar 2,000 duine theachta anisín le  
n'emos a chuir in iul don sarfille daonna uair.

Da mbeadh Cathal Bui beo no innimh a  
bheith i lathair i spárad, chuirfeadh se athas  
ar an oíread ñaodain a bheith ag baistíl as ol,  
ceol agus cráic ag chifeadh se fosta nach bhí  
full fagha de Ghaeilgeoir Domhnach Móilighlin  
a's a chomharsaingeach ag cupla sealbháine.

Was an t-áit a ndaonn aon aon ghaibh  
scóile on Gháelge agus ce go bhfuil an turas  
arais go Gaeltacht deacair nil se do-dheanta  
ar chor ar bith.

Rud a calaideas ins na colún seo go minic  
na seort scéiteachas atá go direach faol an

chraicinn i moran de lucht na Gaeilge agus  
an nos atá aecu ar oícadil pobail sin a chuir in  
iul — gur ionamh Gaeilgeas agus Caithleas.

Nótharlaigh seo i n Domhnach Móilighlin  
agus ce gur bhítear liom feln religiúis a  
fhágán agus a chomharsach den tsoirt go h-  
ionann, mar shóis ag ann biadh an tabhairt  
Muineacháin.

Leighdeadh Alfreann i nGaeilge agus bhi  
seirbhís Gaeilge ann fosta (Jena linn leighdeadh  
Cathal Mac Colm an Cheacht).

Taispeáinna scáinn Sinn Féin se  
an Caoineadh Ailt Uí Laoghaire, De Domhnaigh  
agus bhl ñaodain antóigheile (caithidh sé  
na scáinní a ndaonn aon aon ghaibh  
scóile on Gháelge agus ce go bhfuil an turas  
arais se mar ta se a thaispeant ag gach feis'no  
ocáid a dtéid tu am.

Augus ár ndóliche ní bheadh fels no  
comoradh ionlán gan Comháit Ceoilírl a  
bheith i mbun an cheol agus na rinnce — rud a  
bhl ñaodigh agus rinne siad an-job.

bhítear crúalach no bheith pairteach

deasach suíomh a chuir i gcontúrt  
agus ní shífuadh se orlaíoch den  
bhothair leo suid, na Provos, ata ag  
náiriu ailm an Phoblachtanachas  
inniu.

Mar sin is brea liom a feiceáil  
gur tugadh omos do i gComoradh na  
Cásca i nGleann Cholmcille i  
mblána mar is caibdeáil onorach e  
fein agus a leithéid i Stair na  
Glúaiseachta. Le linn na h-óráide  
dúradh "gur cuis broin duinn go  
gealbhíodh mud a admhail nach bhí  
full cuspoiri Eiri Amach na Cásca  
balúnach amach... agus ce gur chailí  
siad las siad tein nach muchtar go  
deo".

### Daorsmacht

Duradh fosta ce go bhfuil ath-  
chungi slothachana ag teacht o gach  
taobh ni ralbh dream agus bith de lucht  
na n-athchúiléage seo ionraice go  
leor a n-aghaidh a bhítear ar bhun  
fhaidh an Tuaisceart agus na tire  
fre cheile, i.e. cumhacháit agus  
daorsmacht impíriulachas Shasana.

Leigh Padraig O Donnachadha  
Rolla Ónóra Laochraí Thír Chonaill.  
Bhl ña dhómaite tost ina n-omos  
agus ansin chuir Sean Ó hEinne a bhi  
i gceannas ar imeachtaí na h-ocáide  
cruich foirmealta leis an  
chomoradh.

I nGaeilge amhain a cuireadh  
ionlán clár na h-ocáide i gcríoch  
agus dar ndóig mar sin a bá choir do  
bheith sa Ghaeltacht.



Comoradh  
i nGleann  
Cholmcille

Is beag duine i dTír Chonaill nar  
chuala tracht in am eigin ar  
easáint.



# Ard Fheis an Chonartha

Tionoliar Ard Fheis Chonradh na Gaeilge agus tan miosa seo — i mbAla Atha Cliath a bheidh se i mbliana. Is leir on gclar go mbéidh bein na hArd Fheise ar fhadhbanna lucht na Gaeilge agus na Gaeilteacha

ba choir a bheith ag Conradh na Gaeilge — siad san an dream a raibh imni orthu le roinnt blianta anuas go rialbha an eagraiocht ag eirí rophailtuitiun an tam a raibh an cheannaslaoch ag diriu ar fhadhbanna polaitiúla agus soisialta mhuintir na hEireann uile — teachtas an Chomhargaidh mar shampla.

B'íad sin an dream a bhí a ionsaí go príomhthána ag Mairtin O Cadhain agus e ag caint ag Ghluaiseacht ar Straí agus b'íad siad na ndaoine a d'ionsaigh an Gadhach fein nuaír a cleachtaidh se an meid a bhí a mhóladh aige — agus b'fhorbairn gur coir do lucht na Gaeilge a bheith pairteach in agóid ar bith ar shon cearta na colsmhuintir.

## Ruin

Calneadh O Cadhain an trath sin toisc nár bhí iompar 'sibhialta' d'ollamh oliscolte a bhí ar siul aige. Níor ghéill seisean riámh do níosanna measula an mhean alcme.

Ach le fileadh ar chilar na run ta ruin ann faoi Udaras ceart Gaeilteacha, faoi dhroch staid ar staisiún 'naisiunta' craolachain idir easpa claracha Gaeilge agus lón na gclaracha eachtrannacha a chraolann RTE. Ta ruin ann ag caineadh beartas Richie faoin nGaeilge sa tséirbhís phoblí agus faoin dhroch chaol a caitear le

agus ar easpa cearta na ndaoine seo amhain.

Arndó tathar ann a chreidéann agus a chreid i gconal gur mar sin

daonáire a dhéanamh iarracht a gcuideann go dteacháin leis na seirbhísí publí siar chead teanga offigíuil.

Ta ruin eile ann faoi churáil oideachais, faoin leatrom a imritear orthu siud a eilimh oideachas tre

indáidh bliana. Pleifear iad ach is beag eile ar feidir a dhéanamh futhu.

Aisteach go leor níl aon trachta sma ruin no sa chilar fein ar fhadhbanna an Tuaiscirt, ar feachtais marfach na bProvois no ar an ngearradh sláinte deanta ar chearta an ghnáthacháinigh in Éirinn thudhán agus theas. Ní aon chaineadh ar an Acht um Chionta in Aghaidh an Stáit, ar na Cuirteanna Speisialta, ar bhruidilacht na nGardai.

## Oifigeach

Agus ce go bhfuil tagairt ann do cheannacht earráil Eireannacha chun cuidiú le tionscláochta na tire is beart atá ann do mhór-fhadhb na difhoscailochta no do chorás eacnamaiochta na tire i gcoitíne.

Moltar go gceapfar oifigeach coisimreach don Chonradh, rud a bhí fuin go mor a dhéanamh. Moltar freisin go mbunofal offig sa Cheann Aras ait a bhfeadfaí gearan a dhéanamh faoi leatrom ar bith a hímeofaí ar dhaoine maidir leis an nGaeilge sa TSeirbhís Phoibill. D'fhéadfai an t-eolas a chlárú, agus statisci a bhailiú.

Beimid ag faire na hArd Fheise agus beidh cuntas iomlán againn ar a himeachtaí an mhi seo chugainn.



• Mairtin O Cadhain

Ghaeilge, agus faoi easpa teachseabhair Ghaeilge. Abhar mor eadachais go mbíonn na ruin ceannainn ceanna ar an gclar bialain



• Padraig O Snodaigh Uachtaran an Chonartha.

agus ar easpa cearta na ndaoine seo amhain.

Arndó tathar ann a chreidéann agus a chreid i gconal gur mar sin

Ach gan dhabh ta seal mor le rath annagain libh fén mbainistíocht anas an agus an ceangal a bhí acu le cas ard chuirte le deanaim. Seo capall rás a leim cupla clai na raibh aon ghá lena leimeadh. Gan dhabh leim cupla Asal na clathacha ceanna agus thíeadar i stéach i bpoll caca. Deacair tarrac as a leithéid.

•••

Ta an socru deanta ar deire agus ar Erbel 'ceannaithe amach' ag Gaeltachta agus iad anois le fear Silver Seal a chur i stéach ann agus ait suid a thabhairt dos na hiascrait. Ni ionadí go raibh go leor dos an hiascrait a ráth 'If you came in the High road you would be alright but if you were unfortunate to be from the town and not to have plenty of lolly — God help you' — agus is docha go raibh fuaimint lein chaint. Tá an-saill agus go n-eireoileadh leis an an dhiarmh agus is ndeire na dala go mbéidh ráth agus ar an iascaireacht sa Daingean.

•••

Ta an da bhad a bhí a dtogaint sa bhad chlos ansud 70° and 80° curtha

Conas mar a bheidh ag na báid atá ag tarrac go dtí an Oileán i mbliana. Deir lucht na mbad (aitíuill) na fuláid fein chun iúthiú a thuillefen aon eachtrannach na na gáimíni ata ag treisí thiar leo.

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## FASCISM AGAINST DEMOCRACY

## The Irish Involvement

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR was one of the few international events to have any significant impact on Irish life in the Thirties. The conflict was represented in clear-cut Catholic versus Communist terms. That was how de Valera saw it too. His sympathies were on Franco's side and the policy of non-intervention adopted by his Government effectively aided the rebel generals.

The Hierarchy was joined by the national newspapers — with the exception of *The Irish Times* — in a hysterical campaign against the legitimate Government of Spain. As part of this campaign, the bishops made a national appeal for prayers. The violently pro-Franco *Irish Independent* regaled its readers with daily stories of alleged Republican atrocities.

Spurred on by the poison pens which twenty years previously had



• Gen. O'Duffy's blueshirt gangsters fleeing from Spain, June 22, 1937.

fought — and fell — in battles at Cordova, Las Rosas, Jarama, Brunete, Quinto, Teruel, in the crossing of the Ebro River and in the subsequent battles on the Sierra Pandols. They fought in the knowledge that they enjoyed the support of the mass of the Spanish people. "The people are 90 per cent against Franco", wrote Frank Ryan to a friend. "I've been among the peasants at villages. They have enough to eat for the first time in their lives . . . I've seen how Franco and his German and Italian masters 'Fight for the Faith'. The bodies of babies cluttered in a schoolyard after an air-raid, breadlines of women blown to bits, working-class houses razed."

The Irish anti-fascists suffered heavy casualties. Of a total of 133 volunteers, 63 gave their lives. Frank Ryan, taken prisoner in March 1938, died six years later, an involuntary guest in Nazi Germany.

In a farewell speech to the International Brigades, Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasionaria) said: "You can go proudly. You are history. You are legend. You are the heroic example of democracy's solidarity and universality . . . We shall not forget you."

We, too, should not forget: the class which spawned Irish Fascism shows every sign of being "in heat" again.

## SPAIN AT WAR

demanded the death of James Connolly, County Councils throughout the country passed resolutions of support for Franco. And from the lowest depths of reactionary Irish politics, the Fine Gael/Blueshirt axis came forth to give birth to the Irish Christian Front.

Under the guiding hand of Patrick Belton, TD, the Christian Front organised rallies at which clerical and lay rabble-rousers invoked the "wrath of God" against the Spanish Republic. Church collections raised £40,000, ostensibly to repair Catholic churches in Spain. The money was never used for any such purpose. Part of it was used to buy arms for the rebel forces; the balance went towards the purchase of premises in and around Dublin.

It was against this background of hysteria and reaction that the Blueshirt General, Eoin O'Duffy, began to recruit an "Irish Brigade" to fight in the "Holy War" against the Republic. "If only two men go to Spain," O'Duffy boasted, "I will be one of them." The former leader of Fine Gael had little difficulty in attracting over 700 "crusaders" — many of them drawn from the ranks of the notorious Animal Gang.

O'Duffy and his motley crew set out for Spain amid scenes of religious ceremonial, to the strains of "Faith of Our Fathers". A more appropriate note was struck in a Dublin street-ballad, "O'Duffy's Ironsides":

"In old Dublin town my name is tarred  
On pavement and slum wall.  
In thousands on its Christian Front  
The starving children call,  
But with my gallant Ironsides

They call to us in vain,  
For we're off to slaughter workers  
In the sunny land of Spain."

On arrival in Spain, O'Duffy's "Ironsides" were welcomed by a community of Irish nuns. Each man was given scapulars and a rosary and told to "beat hell out of the Reds". Within a short time, however, O'Duffy's "Crusade" developed into a farce. His "Iron-sides" divided their time between church-parades and drunken brawls. In their first military engagement, two of O'Duffy's men were killed by the opposing force — which turned out to be a platoon of Franco troops! Following several similar escapades, the "Ironsides" returned home, their military ardour — if not their military fervour — greatly diminished. Their tour of duty had lasted six months.

## Irish unit

But Ireland was not totally disgraced. Despite the vitriolic hate campaign against Republican Spain, Irish anti-fascists stood their ground.

Several committees were formed to aid the Republic. And in the face of violent threats, the delegates to the Irish Conference of the ATGWU in September 1936 unanimously approved their Union Executive's decision to grant £1,000 for humanitarian aid to the Spanish Government.

In the same month, the decision was taken to form the Irish unit of the International Brigade. Republicans, trade unionists and

Communists united to fight Fascism in Spain just as they had done in Ireland. Some Irishmen were already in Spain, having travelled from Britain, America and Canada. In December 1936 they were joined by the first organised Irish group led by the Republican, Frank Ryan.

## Solidarity

In a press statement issued prior to their departure for Spain, Ryan outlined the group's objectives: "The Irish contingent is a demonstration of revolutionary Ireland's solidarity with the gallant Spanish workers and peasants in their fight for freedom against Fascism. It aims to redeem Irish honour besmirched by the intervention of Irish Fascism on the side of the Spanish Fascist rebels. It is to aid the revolutionary movement in Ireland to defeat the Fascist menace at home and, finally, and not the least, to establish the closest fraternal bonds of kinship between the Republican democracies of Ireland and Spain."

In contrast to O'Duffy's departure for Spain, no "public men nor cheering crowds" bade farewell to the Irish International Brigaders. They left quietly, their unsung hymn the "Internationale". In Spain, they linked up with the anti-fascists of fifty-seven nations and, with them, gave concrete expression to the concept of proletarian internationalism.

Unlike the "O'Duffy Irish Brigade" the Irish anti-fascists were not shy of action. For two years they



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# The United WORLD

## BRETONS STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION PART OF WORLD-WIDE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Brittany is a peninsula, at the western tip of the European Continent, where some 3.5 million people, the Bretons, live. Their name and that of the country come from the ancient Bretons who had to leave Britain to flee the Saxon invasion (5th-6th centuries) and who brought their civilisation to the peninsula, which was then called "Armorica." This also accounts for the origin of the Breton language, a close relative to Welsh, that was once spoken over most of the country and is now restricted to its western 40 per cent where 500,000 people use it daily.

After being a kingdom, then an independent dukedom, the country was taken over by France in the 16th century. During the French Revolution Brittany was split into five 'departments', and lost any official existence.

The country, however, never became a normal part of the French Republic. Being under the rule of external economic centres, it missed the industrial revolution; a native capitalism never developed, and the Breton ruling classes were used by the French bourgeoisie as local agents to keep Brittany in a backward socio-economic state and to facilitate a colonial type exploitation. The Catholic Church contributed towards this task — and to some extent still does.

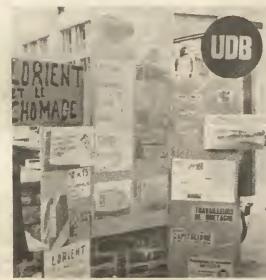
### Unemployment

Today, Brittany has a mainly agricultural economy, exporting raw products, with an underdeveloped tertiary sector and an underdeveloped industry. One after another locally-owned plants are taken over and closed down by big monopolies. The country loses some 20,000 people per year through emigration; unemployment is 30 per cent higher than the French average. Some industrial plants, most of them small, do open up however, often for a few years. They come from elsewhere to exploit, through bad working conditions and low pay, the local difficulties of finding a job.

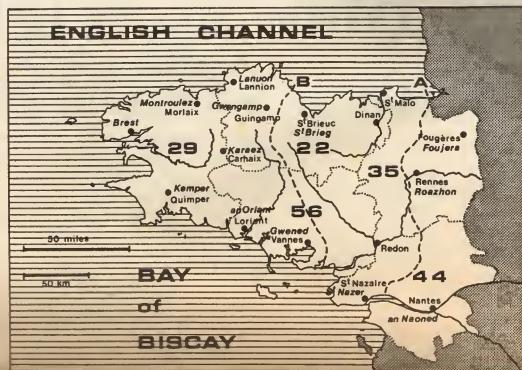
The country is also used for tourism and as a military stronghold, which contributes to reduce industrial development. The cultural specificity of the Bretons — still very strong even where the Breton language is no longer spoken — is ignored by the educational authorities and joked upon by the media, which contributes to maintain a colonial mentality.

Since the last century various forms of Breton nationalism have

developed. With some exceptions, the major trend among Breton nationalists was right-wing; some of them even allied to Nazism in the '40s in the hope of gaining independence for Breton from Hitler. The French left-wing, on the other hand has always tended to think,



● U.D.B. lead the struggle.



● Broken line: eastern limit of Breton language; A, 9th century; B, present. Department numbers: 29, Finistere; 22, Cotes du Nord; 56, Morbihan; 35, Ille & Vilaine; 44, Loire-Atlantique (the latter excluded by the gerrymandering of the "regionalisat" from the new official Brittany).

again with exceptions, that Breton specificity means catholic backwardness and must therefore disappear.

Then, in Brittany, came a generation of young people who, through the Algeria war question, struggled against French imperialism overseas; they saw that its mechanisms and effects were akin to what happened in their own country, and this led in 1964 to the founding of the U.D.B. (Breton Democratic Union) a Breton Revolutionary party. The U.D.B. on the one hand, differs from the French left wing by thinking that the social emancipation of the people in Brittany cannot be achieved by wiping out Breton's national identity; on the other hand it differs from the right wing Breton movement by thinking that the Breton situation results from imperialism, a stage in capitalist development, and that the Breton struggle is therefore a form of anti-capitalist struggle and must rest upon a firm class basis.

### Class struggle

National and social liberation in one country are not isolated from the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle. The U.D.B. has accordingly developed wide international links. Together with Sinn Fein and other revolutionary organisations of subjected countries (Catalonia, Galicia, Wales, Basques) the U.D.B. is a party to the Brest Declaration, the purpose of which is to provide a common political basis and mutual solidarity in the anti-imperialist struggle within Europe. For the best way we can assist in the liberation of the peoples elsewhere is by destroying imperialism where we ourselves face it, at home.

## International

### round-up

"An end to wars, peace among the nations, the cessation of pillaging and violence — such is our ideal" (Lenin Col. Works, vol. 21, p. 293)

A few hours after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917, the first act of the Soviet Republic was the proclamation to the peoples of all nations of the decree on peace. A call for an end to war and devastation that was taken up, not only by the Soviets, but by all those who cherished their freedom and independence throughout the world.

Since that historic decree nearly 59 years ago we have witnessed an unprecedented era in the history of man. Many tasks now face all those concerned with freedom, democracy, national independence and social progress, yet uppermost in the struggle has been the fight for peace, and an end to war. During those 59 years the direction in which the world has developed is characterised by steady advances in the strength of the peace forces and a continued weakening of the warmongering forces of imperialism, fascism and reaction.

There is no doubt that the Helsinki conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the decisions agreed upon by the representatives of the 35 states attending the conference have given new impetus to the struggle for peace. The entire process of detente has been consolidated and a major setback has been experienced by the Cold War warriors.

### Atomic ban

Although political detente is now reality, the arms race continues, with much needed resources being used to produce weapons of mass destruction, rather than houses, hospitals, schools and other materials for the well-being of the people; ignorance is still rife among many sections of people with regard to the USA-USSR Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, which start at the U.N. by the USSR and others together with the nuclear activities of the USA and certain capitalist powers at the Vienna talks on the reduction of arms and armed forces in central Europe are still not widely known.

The victory for peace and detente at Helsinki has come about as the actions by peace loving governments, coupled with the mass activities of the peoples of Europe. This combined action must continue to ensure the implementation of the Final Act, and to bring about an end to the arms race, culminating in world disarmament. In other words, consolidating political detente by

Just over 25 years ago the World Peace Council was formed to unite peace loving forces throughout the world. Since its foundation it has been in the centre of the world wide struggle for peace. In 1950 it launched the Stockholm Appeal, an Appeal which called for "an absolute ban of atomic weapons and weapons capable of mass extermination" was supported by more than 500 million signatures. Never before had world public opinion been more resounding. Many believe this appeal prevented the use of atomic weapons in Korea, and certainly its together with other actions of the World Peace Council played a major role in achieving the present relaxation of tension and peaceful co-existence in Europe.

The World Peace Council has now launched a new Stockholm Appeal for general and complete disarmament, urging all governments, Parliaments, political parties, trade unions and mass organisations to join hands in a worldwide offensive for stopping the arms race and achieving general and complete disarmament. This new Appeal, coupled with other mass action by the peoples of all nations, should serve to intensify the struggle of the peace forces, nationally and internationally in achieving mankind's noble goal of a just world without war.

# PEOPLE IN POLITICS

## Infamous

The Cudlips are a famous Fleet Street journalistic family. Hugh was former editor of the *Daily Mirror*. Rumour has it that Cudlipp is operating in the business for the Northern Ireland Office.

Apparently, he failed to hit it off with the *Sunday Times*, where he worked with Alex Mitchell of the now defunct 'Workers' Press' and so the old school tie network found him a safe place.

His official title is News Adviser but local nasties prefer to call it Black Propaganda out of Thelwall Barracks where Mr. Cudlipp is reported to be a fervent pink gin man.

Still, with his "lordly" background who would drink bottles of stout?

## Exposed

The March issue of *Journalist*, the monthly publication of the NUJ, reported on the cloaks and daggers activities of correspondents working for that well-loved liberal newspaper, the *Daily Telegraph*.

Last December, they exposed John Draw as being "in fact Nguyen Ngoc Phan, an officer on the general staff of the Saigon Army" in South Vietnam.

More recently, it was the *Telegraph's* star correspondent, Bruce Loudon, who was a PRO for the brutal Portuguese Caetano regime which massacred hundreds of Mozambique civilians in Africa. Interestingly enough, the *London Financial Times* dismissed him, he worked part-time for them also, when they heard of his activities.

It is not to shock maybe for many journalists in England, but hardly likely to rock the propaganda scene in Ireland, especially when one realises that the editor of the *Telegraph* is William Deedes, Tory MP, who came to Long Kesh in 1971 and found nothing to startle him or complain about.

## Katanga

Teileis Eireann's attitude to re-showing ten-year-old programmes has been clarified following a request from the Gaelic League that the 1981 Easter Commemoration programme should be put out again.

In a very brief reply to what admittedly was a very brief request, Aindrias Ó Gallachóir, Leas-Cheannas na gClár, snapped in Irish, "I can state with certainty that there is no intention of re-broadcasting programmes which were made ten years ago."

However, will undoubtedly be delighted with this information, particularly those unfortunate single channel types who are fed on a diet of geriatric Westerns and Jingoistic British shorts.

Fair play to ye, O Gallachóir (nee O'Brien of the Katanga).

## Tradition

Mairin De Burca's Easter speech at Lurgan prompted the wife of a former 1916 veteran (deceased) to write congratulating her on her courageous and wonderful summing up of the Republican tradition.

Unfortunately, the letter cannot be published as the writer failed to sign her name and address, not necessarily for publication. She states that her husband's family (brother and father) were involved in the struggle from the Howth gun-running days to the 1916 Easter Rising. "The 'deeds of the Pioneers will bring a blush of shame to our fair land".

The writer concludes by hoping that Ms De Burca's words will "do some good and bring peace to all North and South".

## Chemical

Conservation, as any Community Councillor will tell you, is a "good thing". But it is a "good thing" the townspersons of Clemont had too much of. It has already cost them 250 jobs and they are determined it will continue any more.

Following a public meeting called by Sean O'Farrell, County Council, the 23 objectives to a pharmaceutical industry in the town face total boycott by the people of Clemont. It was stated on behalf of the Council that the project would provide 472 jobs in a highly sophisticated and technical industry. In addition, over 1,000 houses had been provided for one and a half years in the construction of the plant.

The first stage of the project, involving 230 jobs, was redirected to Puerto Rico because of delays caused by the objectors. Planning permission for the second and third stages of the project has been denied by the Minister or Local Government. The objectors are now threatening High Court proceedings against that decision despite an earlier commitment to abide by it.

There is growing support for a boycott of the objectors. Gaoth Dobhair residents however, have said that they "will not condone any action that would militate against people availing of their constitutional rights". Have they never heard of the right to work?

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• 26 Cos. Minister for Justice Patrick Cooney (at right) preparing for the big clean up of 'subversives' — i.e. homeless, trade unionists, unemployed, students etc.

## Cooney attacks C. Rights

ON Thursday, April 1, Patrick Cooney, Justice Minister for the 26-County Government, made an ominous speech — ominous not just for Sinn Fein, at whom it was aimed, but for everyone in this country who believes in freedom of speech, thought and political expression. Considering the date, it would be nice to think he was joking, but, unfortunately, he was in grim earnest.

After attacking the "Marxist-inspired" Sinn Fein for "exploiting areas of discontent" such as the homeless and small farmers, Cooney declared that the government's first duty was to strengthen its laws and add to the penalties of offenders and on to warn: "There might have to be a derogation from the laws protecting the freedom of the individual". He spoke of "searches, security checks, curfews, etc.", which would "necessarily impinge on the convenience of the ordinary citizen".

If you are one of the ordinary citizens whose "convenience" might be impinged on, we suggest you think very carefully before you attend Cooney's speech (and if you want a sample of the inconvenience involved, take a shopping trip to Belfast, although even there they don't have a curfew). When a government Minister starts threatening the ordinary citizens of his own country, that shows fear. We shall go on to discuss just what is feared, and why. But first it is necessary to be definite.

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### Fear

Significantly, the CR Movement is one of the very few groupings which managed to unite people from both Northern communities — and this is the real reason for the attack on it, and not any trumped up charges of engaging in political violence. It is the CR Movement which anyone who knows anything about the North would dismiss out of hand.

So what fear causes these lies, distortions and threats to the ordinary citizens? It is the fear of a government Minister. Simply, it is fear of an idea. That idea is Socialism.

Right now you are reading a Socialist paper, so the chances are that you're not one of the ordinary citizens threatened by Cooney's speech. Chances are that you're not even sure what Socialism means (and that's no accident either). What you're going to be threatened because of is what you might as well find out about it — just what is Socialism anyway?

### Public ownership

Socialism is first and foremost about ownership, the ownership of wealth, of work and natural resources. In the Socialist Ireland which is coming, all the means of production belong to the people of Ireland. There are many Socialist countries and societies in the world — from a small island like Cuba having roughly the same area and population as Ireland to a huge continental grouping like the USSR, each with their own distinctive features, but this public ownership and control of wealth is the constant factor which distinguishes them from the capitalist countries.

In Ireland now, 5% of the people own 75% of the wealth. You've probably heard that statistic before, so let's put it another way. Imagine you are one of a family of four, with two brothers and sisters. Your parents are dead and all you have in the world is £20. How would you feel if one person proposed to take £15, leaving the remaining five to be divided among the other three in the family? Well, that's the capitalist system here in Ireland. Sean and Siobhan Citizen — you have been robbed.

These vicious laws affect every Irish man and woman. Action to oppose all repressive legislation is needed now, because it is too late. It would be a simple matter to make ordinary citizens — busy trying to make a living and rearing their families — to leave the heart-cry from Nazi Germany: "First they came for the Communists. And nothing happened. Then they came for the Jews, and nothing happened. Then they came for the Gypsies, and nothing happened. Then they came for me, and there was nothing left to defend".

Think about it, Sean and Siobhan Citizen. We're on your side. We need you on ours.

No wonder there is fear — fear of the rising middle class that their is growing, and will grow, more, because capitalism is in crisis. The tiny capitalist class in whose interests this country is governed will not solve that crisis. They cannot. They are economically dead, politically and when you get right down to it — morally bankrupt.

### No work

The dole queues are lengthening, the small farmers are being squeezed from their land, tens of thousands of young people are leaving school with no work, and the problem of homelessness is deteriorating together. The pound in your pocket is worth less every day: the food you eat and the clothes you wear and the rent or mortgage you must pay cost more every week. And the more you go into your pocket, the further it is to all of this. It is the classic capitalist answer — buy more guns and tougher laws.

And let's look at those laws — laws which Cooney claims need strengthening, and which even then might have to be "derogated" from — in plain words, ignored. Something terrible is happening in Ireland, something like the Blueshirt at the worst ever came towards becoming the most Fascist country in Europe. There used to be Spain, Portugal and Greece along with Ireland. Now, with these countries are becoming more liberal, we have enacted legislation — the Offences Against the State Act — which should be better world.

France could have been proud of this act under which people can be accused of membership of a "subversive organisation", tried without a jury, and convicted on the unsubstantiated evidence of a Garda officer. The effect of this legislation is that "if I beat this person is guilty", and the "court" only convicts. And these are the laws and administrative procedures which Connolly says must be strengthened, and which, if they are, will have to be derogated from! It's hard to see how, short of executing people without trial. Perhaps that's what he has in mind.

### Apathy

These vicious laws affect every Irish man and woman. Action to oppose all repressive legislation is needed now, because it is too late. It would be a simple matter to make ordinary citizens — busy trying to make a living and rearing their families — to leave the heart-cry from Nazi Germany: "First they came for the Communists. And nothing happened. Then they came for the Jews, and nothing happened. Then they came for the Gypsies, and nothing happened. Then they came for me, and there was nothing left to defend".

Think about it, Sean and Siobhan Citizen. We're on your side. We need you on ours.